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ABSTRACT

Results of surveys (in 1967, 1973, and 1978-1979) of nonmetropolitan Mexican American high school sophomores from South Texas indicated that, although broad similarities existed between males and females, there were also specific patterned gender differences in social behavior and orientations. In status projection levels, particularly educational levels, the boys and girls were similar. Intensity of desire for attainment of occupational goals was similar for both genders. High school dropouts of both genders gave most of the same reasons for leaving school and experienced little or no training after leaving. Generally, both boys and girls desired, expected, and sought upward mobility. No consistent, marked gender differences were observed relative to use of Spanish mass media and to reading and writing of Spanish in various social settings. Boys and girls held similar ideas concerning the importance of religion in choosing a mate and their religion as a possible impediment to social mobility. In many respects, nonmetropolitan youth were very assimilated culturally in the core culture. However, when ethnic-specific differences between boys and girls did exist at the cultural, social structural, and psychological levels of intergroup fusion, the girls consistently tended to be more assimilation-prone. (CM)

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GENDER DIFFERENCES AMONG MEXICAN AMERICAN YOUTH: A SYNTHESIS OF RESULTS FROM TEXAS RESEARCH, 1967-1980.*

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INTRODUCTION

Chicanas in the United States are a very good example of what I refer to as a compound negative status category (Kuvlesky, 1980). They represent the intersection of two master status in our society that are foci of negative stigma and patterns of perjorative treatment: being Mexican American and being a Woman. Consequently, Chicanas carry two social burdens of negative evaluation - one load of negative prejudice and discrimination from the dominant Anglo grouping and another from her own ethnic brothers and sisters (Melville, 1980:2-4). The fact that the Chicana suffers in material ways from this double dose of negative stigma and treatment is clearly reflected in gender differentials in job and income attainments (Stephens, et. al., 1980; Fratoe, 1981:35-37). And, the nonmetropolitan females suffer the most (Fratoe, 1981).

Until very recently social scientists have not focused explicitly on the significance of gender in the life chances and social patterns of Mexican Americans. For example, Steiner (1969:Chpt. 17) in an often quoted piece on "The Chicanos" provides pictures of several Chicanas and quotes several; yet, the content of the piece clearly treats these women as mere reflections of the men - as though the Chicano Movement was a masculine cry for freedom, with women singing the back-up lines at appropriate times and places. Similarly, Grebler, Moore, and Guzman (1970:Chpts. 8, 9, and 14) tend to ignore gender as an important variable to be used in examining achieved status attainment and social mobility among Mexican Americans. And, we reported a similar conclusion from an overview of earlier research done by sociologists on language usage patterns among Mexican Americans (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1975:3).

Since about 1970 - with the advent of the "Feminist Movement" we have become rather consistent in including gender comparisons in our reports of research on Mexican Americans (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1973 and 1975; Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975). More recently several books have been published specifically on the life situations and social problems of Mexican American women in an attempt to draw attention to their plight as a "double minority" in our society (Sanchez and Cruz, 1977; Melville, 1980). However, Mexican American men and women do share a common past, an important sense of social identity in the present, and will have to some extent, through their interactions with each other, a common future (Sweeney, 1977; Cotera, 1980). Whatever their broad similarities, there are probably also specific patterned differences among Mexican American males and females which evolve from gender - specific role traditions, or from reactions to these restrictive expectations. Some of these may be a reflection of more generally pervasive societal conditions (Grebler, et. al., 1970:65-66) and some may be due to ethnic - specific circumstances.

Objectives

How do Mexican American males and females differ in their social orientations and their social behavior? The purpose of this paper is to attempt to achieve a limited answer to this question, within the context of research studies of South Texas Mexican American youth we have carried out at Texas A&M University since 1967 (Medina and Kuvlesky, 1976). More precisely my objective here is to produce a systematic synthesis of research results we have previously reported, focusing specifically on gender variability among teenage Mexican American youth residing in nonmetro South Texas.

A number of social scientists, commenting on patterned gender differen-

ences in language patterns among Mexican American youth, have suggested that Mexican American girls are - for one reason or another - likely to be more assimilation-prone than are their brothers (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1973). Reported findings on rates of exogamous marriages achieved by Mexican American women and men appear to offer some support for this notion (Grebler, et. al., 1970:408-409). However, I am not sure that the whole of the evidence available would support this gross, simplistic speculation (Kuvlesky, 1979; Melville, 1980:8). Still, it seems a reasonable hypothesis to begin with: Mexican American teenage girls are more assimilation-prone than their male counterparts. A test of this hypothesis is not really intended here; but, as a directive proposition it leads us to a useful conceptual frame with which we can order the results of the intended synthesis.

Conceptual Frame

Gordon's notions of a complex, multidimensional process of assimilation developed first in 1964 (62-83) and expanded upon in 1978 (166-180) has served to generate extensive thought about the variability of assimilation rates among and within various racial and ethnic groups in the United States (Greeley, 1974; Glazer and Moynihan, 1975; Feagin, 1978). The key idea in Gordon's scheme in that there are levels of intergroup penetration, parralleling the analytical system levels of human reality. Intergroup interpenetration may take place or not in variable degrees along these different dimensions at any point in time. As I see it, there are these four broad levels or types of possible interpenetration, all of which Gordon mentions:

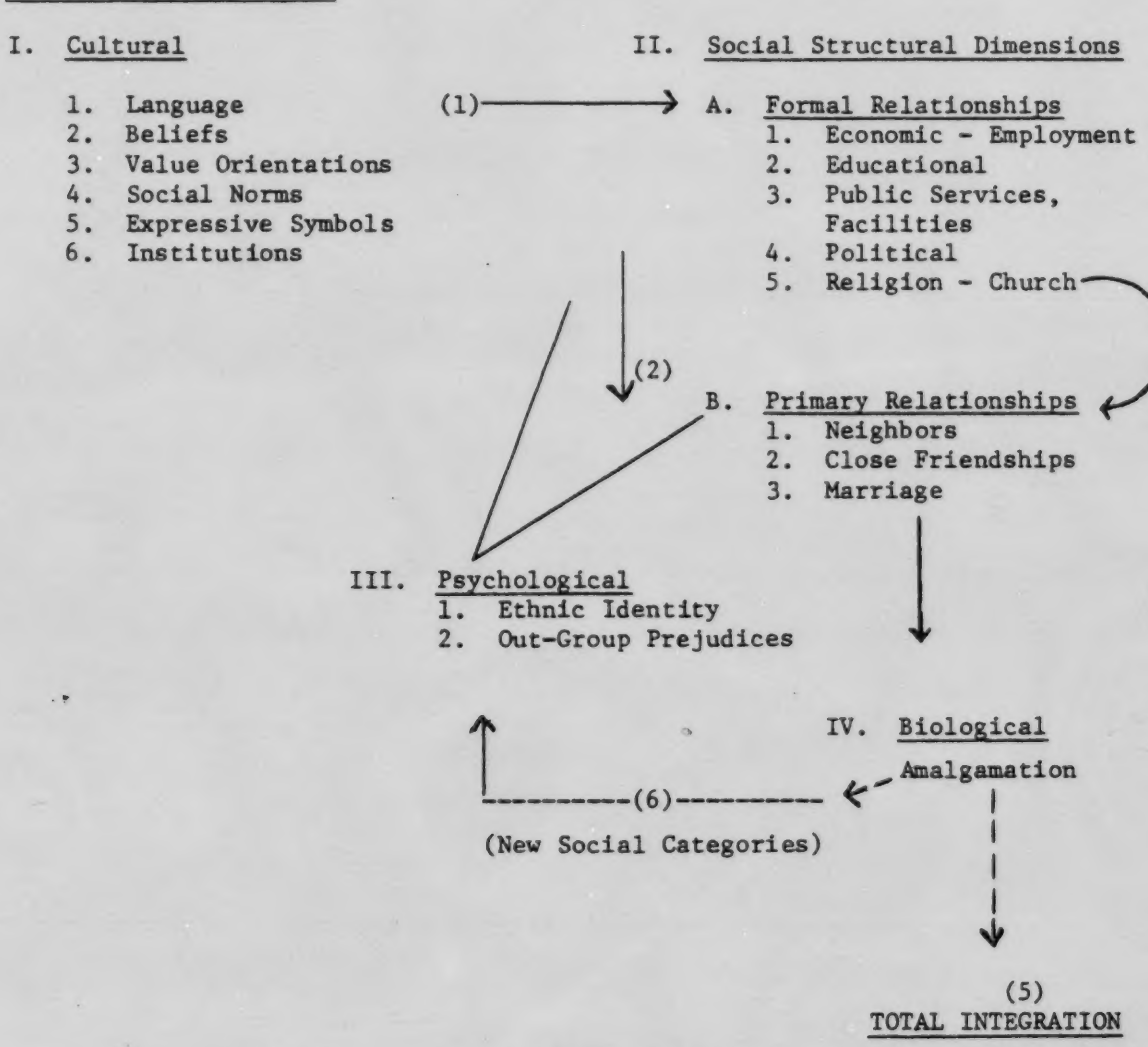
(1)	Cultural	(Cultural assimilation)
(2)	Social Structural	(Structural assimilation)
(3)	Psychological	(Indentification assimilation)
(4)	Biological	(Amalgamation)

Feagin (1978:29-31) modifies Gordon's basic differentiation of levels or dimensions of assimilation in one important way: he notes the need to distinguish at the structural level between highly formal systems of relations and those that are personal and intensive (i.e. the distinction between secondary and primary groups). This moves in the right direction but does not go far enough in specifying the number of separate dimensions that must be considered to reflect the complexity of the reality involved in social fusion. Certainly this is the case in viewing Mexican American-Anglo relations in the Southwest. In a recent paper I developed a more elaborate set of differentiations as depicted in Figure 1 (Kuvlesky, 1979: 11).

As Gordon has proposed, it is probable that assimilation along different broad dimensions can and does proceed at different rates. To extend this line of thought as I have done in Figure 1, it is possible to think of uneven rates of assimilation occuring among elements or dimensions within the broader levels of potential interpenetrations: elements of culture, institutional contexts of secondary associations, and forms of primary relationships. In the case of Mexican Americans, I propose this is exactly what is happening. Therefore, we should look for a variety of indicators at the cultural and two structural levels of interpenetration.

It is necessary to recognize the potential for reification implicit in Figure 1. The staged model described is drawn at a very inclusive and abstract level in terms of presumed prevailing patterns of interpenetration between majority and minority status categories. It is possible that such patterns can not be obtained due to patterned diversity at lower levels of social organization (i.e., regional, local, etc.), or because there is a lot

Figure 1. Levels and Dimensions of Potential Majority-Minority Group Interpenetrations and Stages of Intergroup Fusion.*



*The numbered arrows indicated an ordered progression starting with two culturally differentiated ethnic entities and progressing through full assimilation. Of course, it is possible for this process to start, stop, or reverse at any point. Furthermore, it is possible and even probable that alteration taking place at any level will be considered as Greeley (1974) has noted.

of variability at the level of individual members of a minority category at any or all levels of social organization (Melville, 1980:5-8). We need to be aware of this potential diversity and be very cautious not to ignore it in our quest for inclusive generalizations, less we give birth to new stereotypes or lend support to old ones.

Given the probable intragroup diversity existing, it is best to ignore the proposed sequential patterning depicted in Figure 1 and instead to simply view the levels and dimensions of intergroup penetration as simultaneous possibilities for assimilation. This will cause us to question the more common assumption that assimilation along these dimensions is highly correlated. In fact, this assumption is implied when we use such terms as "separatist," "assimilation-prone," or "pluralist" to refer to idealized notions about intergroup adaptations of minority group members. Minority group members do this among themselves as well: for instance, note the meanings of the use of the term "Coconut" by Mexican Americans to denote a person oriented toward full assimilation in the Anglo world, or conversely, the meaning associated with "Chicano" as once used by Mexican American student leaders (Rivera, 1978:6-7).

This multidimensional, multilevel scheme for analysis of intergroup interpenetrations will be used as interpretative framework on the results of our gender comparisons to ascertain if a conclusion is warranted about general differences in rates of assimilation among nonmetro, Mexican American boys and girls.

SUBJECTS, DATA, AND ANALYSIS

The Texas A&M Studies of Mexican American Youth

Most of the findings used in this synthesis evolved from an original survey of Mexican American high school sophomores carried out in the "border region" of South Texas in the Spring of 1967 and a restudy survey completed in the Spring of 1973.

The process began in 1967 with the selection of four South Texas counties adjacent to or in close proximity to the United States - Mexico border (Dimmit, Maverick, Starr, and Zapata) that exhibited the following characteristics: (1) location in a rural and nonmetropolitan area, (2) a high frequency of family poverty and (3) proportionately high concentration of Mexican Americans (Juarez and Kuvlesky, 1968:6). In 1967 interviews were conducted in seven schools located in these counties. The 1973 effort could not enlist the cooperation of two of these schools, including the only one in Maverick county, and these schools were deleted from the 1967 data set for this analysis (Kuvlesky and Monk, 1975).

Extensive efforts were made to duplicate the 1967 field procedures in the 1973 study. All high school sophomores present on the day of the study were given questionnaires and immediately assured of the confidentiality of their responses. A trained graduate student read each item aloud giving the students enough time to complete their responses before proceeding. The questionnaires distributed were identical with respect to the variables involved in the historical analysis and in most other respects. The 1973 questionnaire differed from the 1967 one mainly in respect to additional sets of items -- one of these was the extended section on language patterns, reading and writing patterns of subject (Patella and

Kuvlesky, 1975). No efforts were made to contact those students not present on the day of the interview. In 1967 about 85 percent of those reported to be enrolled were present and completed the questionnaire and in 1973 the figure was 80 percent.

The 1967 data netted 341 Mexican American respondents as compared with 379 for the 1973 effort. Those students who did not identify themselves as Mexican American were deleted from this analysis. The surveyed portions of the sophomore class in the schools involved in the study ranged from a low of 22 to a high of 168 in the 1967 effort and from 25 to 181 in 1973.

The general study area involved demonstrated the following patterns of historical change between 1960 and 1970, according to the United States Census data: (1) an increase in an already proportionately large majority of Mexican Americans; (2) a general rise in level of education and; (3) an apparent improvement of general economic conditions -- fewer families in poverty and fewer people working as unskilled laborers.

No dramatic changes took place in reference to school facilities. In general it can be presumed that the schools became a bit more crowded and that some of them exhibited deteriorating physical facilities and equipment. A follow up probe aimed at ascertaining the general availability of Spanish language reading materials in the school and communities and generally, it was observed that little in the way of written Spanish was in evidence in the schools -- outside of what was used in formal Spanish classes -- or in the communities (i.e., newspapers or magazines).

Information obtained from the students indicate little change took place in reference to the families of the respondents over the six year

study period. A slight increase in parental education was noted. Also there was a tendency for fewer fathers to be gainfully employed in 1973 than in 1967.

On occasion we have supplemented findings from the above described study with some very recent data obtained from a 1978-79 survey of Mexican American family members carried out in Cameron and Brooks Counties, Texas (Metzen, 1980).

Design For Analysis

The available accumulation of empirical findings from our youth studies (1967-1973) restrict the scope of our desired synthesis to several sets of variables as outlined below:

A. Status Projections & Values

(1) Occupational	1967 - 1973
(2) Educational	
(3) Marital - Procreation	

B. Language Usage Patterns

(1) Use of Spanish-English spoken language in different Social contexts	1967 - 1973
(2) Use of Spanish Language Mass Media	
(3) Reading and Writing Spanish	1973

C. Religious Orientations and Behavior - 1973

(1) Religious Affiliation
(2) Church Attendance
(3) Religious Orientations

D. Ethnic Labeling Preferences - 1973

Where I have noted above the availability of indicators for both 1967 and the 1973 follow-up, I will also explore gender variability in patterns of historical change.

Unreported supplementary data is available at this time from our recent 1978-1979 survey of Mexican American families in Cameron and Brooks County to extend and up-date the information from the earlier youth studies as follows:

A. Values

(1) General "Traditional - Liberal" Value Orientations.

B. Language Patterns

(Roughly the same set of indicators as used in 1973 above.)

These results will be incorporated into the analyses of the earlier "youth study" findings as relevant to either extend coverage of variables or to test the general validity of generalizations developed.

Obviously, the ideas of aspirations, religion, and values fit into analysis of patterns of cultural assimilation and the notion of ethnic labeling relates directly to identity fusion or the lack of it - the psychological level of intergroup interpenetration. Just as obviously, we do not as of yet have good indicators represented for the level of structural assimilation: the youth studies did not include these and the data on this from the 1978-1979 survey has not been analyzed. However, to some extent the information provided on spoken language patterns by social context can produce some inferences about possible structural assimilation potentials.

SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS

Status Projections

South Texas H.S. Sophs - 1967

The Mexican American boys and girls we studied from non-metropolitan South Texas in 1967 did not differ substantially in reference to most aspects of their status projections for occupational and educational attainment. Similar proportions had high and low levels of aspiration and expectation, strong desires for their goals, and uncertainties about achieving their expectations, Table 1.

A summary of differences by gender presented in Table 2 indicates clearly that significant and sociologically meaningful differences were observed only in reference to specific types of occupations aspired to and expected. The sex differences in occupational aspirations and expectations are patterned similarly as summarized below by status level (see Kuvlesky and Juarez, 1975:263-268)

High: Mexican American girls more often tended to desire and expect low-prestige professional jobs (i.e. teacher, nurse, and lab technician) and less often desired or expected high-prestige professional and glamour jobs than their male counterparts.

Intermediate: Girls were heavily concentrated in the "Clerical, Sales" category for both aspirations and expectations, while boys tended to concentrate in the "Skilled Blue Collar" and "Managerial" types.

Low: Girls were less often found in the "operative" and "laborer" categories than males for both types of status projections, though proportions in all cases were very small.

Table 1. Summary Overview of Mexican American Youths Status Projections For Occupational and Educational Attainment, ST-67.

	ST-67	
	Males	Females
High Aspirations		
Education	53%	51%
Job	54	60
Low Aspirations		
Education	21	19
Job	9	3
High Expectations		
Education	39	37
Job	40	36
Low Expectations		
Education	31	32
Job	13	14
Anticipatory Goal Deflection		
Education (none)*	59	62
Job	62	62
Strong Intensity — Aspirations		
Education	84	89
Job	69	72
Certain — Expectations		
Education	49	50
Job	36	32

Taken from Kuvlesky and Juarez (1975:Table 16).

*No difference between status levels desired and expected.

Table 2. Summary of Chi Square Test Results on Gender Differences In Status Projections Among Mexican American Youth (ST-67).

	ST-67 P at .05	ST-67 Nature of Difference
A. Educational		
Aspirations	S	Similar
Intensity of Aspirations	NS	None
Expectations	NS	None
Certainty of Expectations	NS	None
Anticipatory Deflection	NS	None
B. Occupational		
Aspirations	S	Specific Types
Intensity of Aspirations	NS	None
Expectations	S	Specific Types
Certainty of Expectations	NS	None
Anticipatory Deflection	NS	None

Abstracted from Kuvlesky and Juarez (1974:Table 4 and 262-273).

Another consistent sex difference relative to expectations was that only small proportions of females expected their lifetime work to be "Housewife" --- almost none of them desired this.

The sex differences observed above are consistent with what has been observed in the past for Black and White youth (Kuvlesky and Ohlendorf, 1968: and Lever, 1969). The interstudy consistency of these sex-linked differentials again offers evidence indicating the general similarity of nonmetropolitan and metropolitan Mexican American youth. The general nature of these patterns is also supported by the apparent consistency between our results here and those reported by Schulman and his co-workers (1973:233) and in a replication carried out in El Paso in 1973 by Venegar (1973).

ST-67 Age Peer "Dropouts"

Our study (ST-67, 68) provides age-matched student and dropout peers from the same school areas studied at approximately the same time.

Almost all of the seventy-four dropouts we studied were at least sixteen years old at the time of the interview--mean age at time of interview was 17.5--and only ten were married. On the average, the respondents indicated that they had left school before completing the ninth grade. Three-fourths indicated that their parents were living together, and almost as many said they were living with their parents at the time they left school. The vast majority of their parents (75 percent) failed to complete high school, and about two-thirds of the main breadwinners in their families were either unemployed or employed in low-skilled blue collar jobs (mostly farm labor or food processing).

When we think of school dropouts we tend to imagine boys. However among Mexican American youth over the years many girls have also been "dropouts" or, perhaps more to the point, "push-outs". The data presented here are taken directly from an analysis reported in 1969 by Kuvlesky and Deitrich. These rare data allow us a small glimpse at potential gender structuring of the dropout process and its consequences.

A gender comparison of eleven reasons the youth gave for leaving school demonstrated only two noteworthy differences: girls much more frequently leave school for poor grades and somewhat less frequently leave to make money than do boys, Table 3. In general, both boys and girls leave school for a variety of reasons--usually more than one. Our results also indicated that about three-fourths of both the boys and girls believed that nobody encouraged them to stay in school before they left.

Most of these youth indicated no substantial technical or vocational training since they left school, Table 4. An interesting gender difference shows up in this regard-one out of six of the boys received vocational training in a skill as compared with absolutely none of the girls. Could this be evidence of gender discrimination at the time?

Although the girls and boys were equally pessimistic about expecting to come back to finish school, over half the boys and even more of the girls (77%) wanted to do this, Table 5. The girls were much more oriented toward finishing on a part-time basis. I interviewed some of these youth myself and they were sincere about this.

Table 3. Mexican American Dropouts' Ratings of Importance of Reasons for Leaving School

Reasons	Percentage Indicating Some or Much Importance		Chi Square[a]	P
	Male (N=39)	Female (N=35)		
School Related:				
Couldn't get along with teachers	31	26	.23	P>.50<.70
Had poor grades	39	68	6.20	P>.01<.02
Wasn't learning anything I could use	44	26	2.32	P>.10<.20
The principal or school counselor told me to leave	7	3	.84	P>.30<.50
Other students didn't like me	15	15	.02	P>.80<.90
Social Pressure Outside of School:				
My father wanted me to quit	11	9	.08	P>.70<.80
My mother wanted me to quit	3	3	.0037	P>.95<.98
My friends wanted me to quit	5	3	.27	P>.50<.70
Financial/Home:				
To make some money	51	31	2.99	P>.05<.10
Didn't have good enough clothes or money to do what other students did	30	21	.98	P>.30<.50
To get married	11	14	.24	P>.50<.70

[a] df= 1 in all cases

Table 4. Type of Technical Training of Mexican American Dropouts Since Leaving School.

	Male (N=39)	Female (N=35)	Total (N=74)
	----------Percent----------		
No technical training	72	74	73
Laborer	10	26	18
Skilled trade, craft, or work	13	0	7
Machine operator	3	0	1
No information	2	0	1
TOTAL	100	100	100

Table 5. Desire and Expectation of Mexican American Dropouts to Return and Finish School.

	Desire[a]		Expectation[b]	
	Male (N=39)	Female (N=35)	Male (N=39)	Female (N=35)
	----------Percent----------			
To Return:				
Full-time	23	20	15	17
Part-time	28	57	10	26
Not to Return	44	23	67	57
No Information	5	0	8	0
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

[a] $X^2 = 6.05$ df = 2 P>.02<.05

[b] $X^2 = 2.70$ df = 2 P>.20<.30

The 1973 Restudy-Historical Change

Comparison of our 1967 and 1973 data revealed several slight but consistent shifts in selection of "types" of jobs and education observed (Kuvlesky and Monk, 1975). In reference to occupational aspirations and expectations there appeared a tendency for a historical shift toward "Managerial" and "Glamour" types of jobs and a movement away from lower prestige professional jobs (i.e., teacher, engineer, nurse, and etc.). "Clerical-sales" and "Skilled Worker" types of jobs also declined in frequency over the six years. These were matched with an apparently compatable shift in educational projections--within the intermediate status level--a drift toward an orientation for Jr. College and away from vocational and technical training after high school. Also, graduate study after completion of college gained while termination with a four year college degree declined over the study period. These slight, but consistent historical trends may be the leading edge of qualitative shifts in status goals objectives among Mexican American youth which may produce marked change in the future. Of course, only continuation of this kind of comparative, historical analysis over a longer period will be able to determine whether or not this is so.

We concluded from our findings that Mexican American boys tended to demonstrate a greater magnitude of change--when change was observed--than girls over the period studied, Table 6. This is congruent with conclusions reached from similar analyses of Black and White youth studied in East Texas over the same period (Kuvlesky, 1980b).

Table 6. Summary of Observations On Sex Differences In Nature and Relative Magnitude of Historical Change (1967-1973) Observed For Status Projection Elements

Status Projection Element	Nature of Change	Sex Comparison on Magnitude of Change
A. Occupation		
Aspiration Level*	Males: Slightly Down Females: None	M>F
Expectation Level*	Males: ? Females: Slightly Down	?
AGD	Males: None Females: Increase	F>M
Intensity of Aspiration	Males: Down Slightly Females: None	M>F
Certainty of Expectation	Generally more "definite"	M>F
B. Education		
Aspiration Level*	No Change	M=F
Expectation Level*	Males: Up Slightly Females: Down Slightly	M=F
AGD	Males: Decrease Females: Increase	M=F
Intensity of Aspiration	Down	M>F
Certainty of Expectation	More Certain	M>F

Taken from Kuvlesky and Monk (1975:Table 16).

*Broad SES "Level" Categories.

A number of sex differences in both nature and magnitude of change were observed. As a result of these, it appears that the girls and boys are generally becoming more dissimilar in reference to their status projections over time. One major exception to this general trend exists in reference to status levels of education desired and anticipated, where little change was observed for either boys and girls, Table 7. The boys demonstrated decreasing levels of AGD and girls the converse pattern for both types of status projection. And, for both status areas boys tended to generally more often show more lowering of intensity of aspiration than girls.

A recent multi-ethnic comparison done in collaboration with Edington on occupational status projections of youth, which involved our 1973 South Texas data, demonstrates clearly pervasive gender-specific patterns of particular aspirations cutting across four different ethnic groupings, Table 8: Evidence to indicate that gender differences among Mexican American youth are linked to broad societal processes and not ethnicity unique elements

ST-73: Marriage and Procreation

Analysis of our ST-73 data carried out by Marshall and Miller (1977) indicated some interesting gender variability in aspirational frames of reference as follows:

	Males	Females
Children Desired	3.6	3.16
Age of Marriage	23.2	21.6
Favor Women Working after Marriage	31%	86%

Table 7. Levels of Occupational and Educational Status Projections By Gender in 1973 and Change from 1967.

Levels	Occupation		Education	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	-------%--------		-------%-------	
A. Aspirations				
High	39(-10)	65(0)	52(0)	52(- 3)
Intermediate	40(+ 9)	27(- 3)	27(0)	32(+ 3)
Low	6(- 5)	4(+ 1)	21(0)	16(0)
No Response	15(+10)	4(+ 2)	-------	-------
B. Expectations				
High	32(- 8)	45(- 2)	48(+ 6)	43(- 3)
Intermediate	35(- 7)	26(-14)	29(+ 2)	30(- 3)
Low	6(- 7)	17(+ 6)	23(- 8)	27(+ 6)
No Response	27(+22)	12(+10)	-------	-------

Abstracted from Kuvlesky and Monk (1975:Tables 3, 4, 7, and 8.)

Table 8. Interethnic Comparison of Types of Occupation Most Frequently Aspired to by Sex.

	Navajo	Mex. Amer.	Black	Anglo
A. Males				
Rank				
1	Skilled Worker (38)	Low Professional (25)	Glamour (27)	Managerial (26)
2	Operative (18)	Skilled Worker (22)	Skilled Worker (18)	Low Professional (20) Skilled Worker (19)
B. Females				
Rank				
1	Cler. and Sales (41)	Low Professional (51)	Low Professional (39)	Low Professional (33)
2	Low Professional (26)	Cler. and Sales (20)	Cler. and Sales (23)	Cler. and Sales (29)

Taken from Kuvlesky and Edington (1976:Table 6).

Marshall and Miller (359-360) conclude from their analysis that both males and females projected conflicting elements in their aspirational frames of reference and they speculate that "should desire for early marriage be realized, the added affects of high male procreation desires and the continuation of negative attitudes toward outside employment after marriage may present Mexican-American women with obstacles greater than those with which Anglo women must deal". Their conclusion seems sound; however, I question their inference about relative ethnic disadvantage-because I think most young American women from poor settings-whatever their ethnicity-suffer the same burdens in this regard.

Value Orientations
(1978-79 Survey)

From an instrument I developed to measure "traditional" vrs. "liberal" value orientations incorporated in our recent survey of Mexican American family members we have a basis for evaluating gender differences among nonmetro and metro teenagers. I decided to show both sets of data, including the metro because it provided a basis for evaluating possible place of residence variability in any gender differences observed.

The results presented in Table 9 clearly indicate that substantial gender variations exist over most items of valuation for nonmetro youth, while they exist for only a small proportion of valuations among metro youth.

In addition, where differences do exist in values by gender among nonmetro youth, it is because girls are generally more liberal than boys, Table 10. Two exceptions to this are in

Table 9. Gender Differences In General Value Orientations of Mexican American Youth From South Texas By Metro-Nonmetro Residence, 1978-1979.

Value Orientations	Metro		Nonmetro	
A. Traditional	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	% Valuing[1]			
1. Duty Before Pleasure	86	84	80	74
2. Strong Religious Beliefs	52	56	66	53*
3. Use of Force by Police	45	69*	57	47*
4. Private Property-Sacred	68	73	57	74*
5. Local Autonomy	32	24	37	21*
6. Saving Money	86	82	83	68*
7. Patriotism	59	60	63	47*
8. Competitive Ethic	61	51*	69	42*
9. Obeying Laws	86	60*	83	84
B. Liberal				
1. Sex Ed. in School	57	47*	49	42
2. Women's Rights - Career	80	93*	63	89*
3. Legalizing Marijuana	16	13	37	37
4. Paying Attention to Minority Groups	39	33	51	31*
NO.	44	45	35	19

*Substantial gender difference in frequency of endorsement of value (i.e., 10 percent or more).

[1]Those responding "agree" or "strongly agree" with value indicator.

Table 10. Summary Comparison of Substantial Gender Variation In Endorsement of Traditional-Liberal Values By Place of Residence: South Texas, 1978-1979.

Value Orientations	Metro		Nonmetro	
	% Dif.	Dif. in Trad. Orient.	% Dif.	Dif. in Trad. Orient.
Religious Beliefs	----------	----------	13	B > G
Use of Force - Police	14	B < G	10	B > G
Private Property	----------	----------	17	B < G
Local Autonomy	----------	----------	14	B > G
Saving Money	----------	----------	15	B > G
Patriotism	----------	----------	16	B > G
Competition	10	B > G	27	B > G
Obeying Laws	26	B > G	----------	----------
Sex Education in Schools	10	B < G	----------	----------
Women's Rights	13	B > G	26	B > G
Minority Rights	----------	----------	20	B < G

reference to "minority rights" and "private property". This general pattern is even more pronounced when "strong valuations" are examined, Table 11. Very dramatic gender differences exist in this regard on valuing private property, support for the competitive ethic, and support for womens rights.

It is important to note that while it can be concluded that boys are generally more frequently conservative than girls in the nonmetro setting, large numbers of the boys and girls probably maintain simultaneously both what are labeled commonly "conservative" and "liberal" value orientations.

Life Goal Valuations (ST-73).

A comparative analysis of youth from "Migrant" and "Nonmigrant" (farm workers) families produced some findings relative to gender differences in relative valuation of life goals (Miller and Kuvlesky, 1976:19-20).

While goal valuation differences between migrants and nonmigrants tended to be minimal, variations by sex appeared to be more pronounced. Girls more often valued achievement of both their educational and occupational life goals more highly than the boys. Conversely, boys more often valued highly the achievement of "free time", their income goals, and their material level of living goals. The most substantial gender difference in this regard was in valuation of educational achievement: 22% more of the migrant and 30% more of the nonmigrant girls valued this highly as compared with their male counterparts.

It would appear that girls were more inclined to emphasize "means to life ends", whereas boys were more inclined to value the ends per se. I interpret this as evidence that the girls were more assimilation-prone in their heirarchy values.

Table 11. Gender Differences In Strength of Traditional — Liberal Value Orientations Among Nonmetro Youth: South Texas, 1978-1979.

	Nonmetropolitan	
	Boys	Girls
	% Strongly Agreeing	
A. Traditional		
Work Ethic	17	5
Use of Force - Police	26	11
Private Property - Sacred	20	5
Local Autonomy	9	0
Patriotism	9	0
Competitive Ethic	26	5
Obeying Laws	17	26
B. Liberal		
Sex Education in Schools	3	16
Women's Rights - Career	3	32
Minority Needs	9	0

Language Usage Patterns: Nonmetro Youth

We started our exploration of language use by Mexican American youth in our 1967 survey with two questions: one asking the youth to tell us how much English vrs. Spanish he or she used in varying social situations and another asking about frequency of use of Spanish language mass media (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1973). We repeated the use of these questions in our 1973 re-survey and we expanded our coverage of language use in several ways (Patella and Kuvlesky, 1975). The follow-up study provided us with an opportunity to extend our view of language usage to use of English and Spanish in reading and writing over various social contexts. Also, we broadened our coverage in 1973, over 1967, in several additional ways. We added the use of television to our mass media indicators, and we added a social context for speaking, reading and writing not used in 1967 -- language use in school during classes.

1967 Study

Our 1967 data clearly demonstrated a marked and consistent pattern of gender variability in spoken language among the Mexican American youth studied, Table 12. Boys were found to have used Spanish only to a much greater extent than the girls in every social situation; and conversly girls used English only somewhat more frequently than boys in every context.

Historical Change (1967-1973)

Patterns of historical change in language use patterns over the six year period were few, Table 13. The patterned decrease

Table 12. Use of Spanish By Mexican American High School Boys and Girls In Different Informal Social Relationships (in percentages) --1967.*

Language Pattern Used	Parents		Close Friends In Neighborhood		Close Friends In School— Out of Class	
	Male (N=289)	Female (N=307)	Male (N=289)	Female (N=307)	Male (N=289)	Female (N=307)
English	5	7	11	17	20	32
Same Amount of both	19	38	35	56	50	55
Spanish	76	55	54	27	30	13
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
No Information	1	0	1	0	1	0
	$X^2 = 30.28$ df = 2 $P < .001$		$X^2 = 43.90$ df = 2 $P < .001$		$X^2 = 26.96$ df = 2 $P < .001$	

*Taken from Patella and Kuvlesky (1973:859).

Table 13. Summary of Chi Square Results of Historical Change in Use of Spanish vs. English by Sex: 1967-1973.

Language Pattern	Differences, 1967-1973 Males P	Nature	Magn.	Females P	Nature	Magn.
Speaking Spanish						
Do you Speak Spanish	>.8	--	--	>.9	--	--
With Parents	>.1,<.2	--	--	>.2,<.3	--	--
Friends - Neighborhood	>.2,<.3	--	--	>.06,<.07	--	--
School (Out of Class)	<.001	>Sp.	Marked	>.001,<.01	>Sp.	Slight
Mass Media						
Radio	>.7	--	--	>.9	--	--
Newspaper and Magazines	>.8	--	--	>.01,<.05	>Sp.	Slight

Table 14. Summary of Patterns of Historical Change by Sex in Use of Spanish to Any Extent and in Using Mostly Spanish: 1967-1973.

Language Patterns	Percent Using Spanish To Any Extent 67	73	Change in %	Percent Using Only Spanish 67	73	Change in %
A. Boys						
Parents	95	90	-5	74	68	-6
Friends-Neighborhood	89	87	-2	53	59	+6
School (Out of Class)	80	81	+1	29	55	+26
Radio *	84	79	-5	7	8	+1
Newspaper and Magazines *	31	33	+2	1	3	+2
B. Girls						
Parents	91	94	+3	41	45	+4
Friends-Neighborhood	83	74	-9	17	21	+4
School (Out of Class)	63	71	+8	7	18	+11
Radio *	76	76	0	5	7	+2
Newspaper and Magazine *	44	55	+11	0	3	+3

in Spanish usage observed in 1967 for both males and females, from the home setting, to the neighborhood and the school, was repeated in 1973, but with an interesting twist. The decrease is less dramatic in 1973 than before, with both males and females using more Spanish with their friends outside class than in 1967. The patterned increase observed in the use of "mostly Spanish" in almost all settings for males and females may spring from a change in political orientations leading to a change in the way respondents perceive their language usage patterns, Table 14.

Gender differences observed in 1967 persisted to 1973, Table 15. It was noted above that the greater English dominance of girls in oral language usage - males used "mostly Spanish" five times as often as females - persists in 1973. Likewise the greater English dominance of boys in use of written mass media persists in the 1973 data as in the 1967 data - two-thirds of males claimed to use no Spanish, and over half of the females claimed at least some. We speculated on the reason for that difference in our earlier report on the 1967 results, supposing that it might lie with the alleged strong sex-role differentiation of the Mexican American culture, with females trained to be docile and obedient, and males to be more independent. That explanation should be broadened, however, to take into account academic performance differences of males and females in this society as a whole: in other words, it is not an ethnic specific explanation.

Table 15. Summary of Results of Chi Square Tests on Sex Differences in Language Usage Patterns for 1967 and 1973 - Use of Spanish.

Patterns	1967 P	1967 Nature of Diff.	1973 P	1973 Nature of Diff.
Speaking				
With Parents	<.001	M>F	<.001	M>F
Close Friends-Neighborhood	<.001	M>F	<.001	M>F
School (Out of Class)	<.001	M>F	<.001	M>F
Mass Media				
Radio	.32	---	>.80	---
Newspaper and Magazine	.06	M<F (-)	<.001	M<F (+)

1973 Study

A look at the additional information available from our 1973 study is in order. As was true in 1967 oral language use was predominately Spanish in 1973 with one exception: language usage patterns were largely English dominant in class - to be expected as the language of instruction is English. But even here males used Spanish more than females: and nine percent of the total group claimed to use mostly Spanish anyway, Table 16.

The 1973 data indicated that although the great majority of males and females claimed to speak, read, and write Spanish, more females than males claimed reading and writing skills, Table 16. This explains the finding that females read more magazines and newspapers in Spanish than males, observed in both 1967 and 1973, they simply have greater skill, and this may be due to the general tendency for American women to have greater verbal skill, as mentioned above. By the same token, males were more English dominant in their letter writing then females - learning to write English and being comfortable in it is a major goal of the schools, and most males have accomplished it. But Spanish writing receives much, much less attention, and so not as many have accomplished it. But if females are more verbally skilled, and more intent on success in school, they may be generally dominating that skill - writing in Spanish - in spite of scanty attention it receives.

1978 - 1979 Study

Using essentially the same instruments we used in our 1973 South Texas youth survey, we obtained information on language use patterns from teenage youth (13-18 years old) who were children

Table 16. Summary of Sex Differences in Frequency of Use of Spanish in Speaking, Reading, and Writing in Different Social Contexts, 1973.

Language Pattern	Sex Differences		
	P	Nature of Diff.*	Magnit.
Speaking Spanish			
Do you speak Spanish	>.20,<.30	None	None
With Parents	<.001	M>F	Marked
Neighborhood Friends	<.001	M>F	Marked
School (Out of Class)	<.001	M>F	Marked
School Classes	<.001	M>F	Slight
Reading Spanish			
Can you read Spanish	>.01,<.05	M<F	Slight
At Home	>.10,<.20	M<F	Slight
In Class	>.01,<.05	M>F	Very slight
School (out of class)	>.001,<.01	M<F	Slight
On the Job	>.6	None	None
Writing Spanish			
Can you write Spanish	>.001,<.01	M<F	Slight
At Home	>.2,<.3	None	None
In Class	>.10,<.20	None	None
School (out of class)	>.01,<.05	M<F	Very slight
On the Job	>.20,<.30	M>F	Very slight
Mass Media-Spanish			
Radio	>.80	None	None
T.V.	>.50	None	None
Magazines	<.001	M<F	Marked

* Use of Spanish. Actual frequencies of use by gender are provided in Table 16-B.

Table 16-B. Summary of 1973 Results Of Mexican American Nonmetropolitan Youths Use of Spanish by Gender (ST-73).

Language Use Patterns	% Using Mostly Spanish		% Using Spanish and English Equally	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
A. Speaking with:				
Parents	68	45	22	49
Close Friends(Neighborhood)	59	21	28	53
Close Friends(School)	55	18	26	53
School - In Class	15	3	40	41
B. Reading At:				
Home	3	6	32	38
School(Out of Class)	8	2	16	29
In Class	4	0	5	6
On Job	9	5	27	22
C. Writing At:				
Home	14	9	24	31
School(Out of Class)	8	2	8	16
In Class	2	1	2	5
On Job	6	1	14	10
D. Mass Media Use				
T. V.	15	16	----------	
Radio	26	25	----------	
Reading	3	11	----------	

in households we surveyed during the winter of "78-79". This new data generally supports the findings on patterned gender differences among nonmetropolitan youth that evolved from our earlier studies, Table 17. In our nonmetro sample girls used mostly English in every context more than boys. On the other hand, in this case, contrary to our earlier findings, the nonmetro boys did not in general use mostly Spanish more often than girls. This raises a question about whether the gender patterns are becoming more similar with time.

Metro - Nonmetro Comparisons

A replication of our 1967 study by Venegas in El Paso in 1973 (Venegas and Kuvlesky, 1975) produced findings indicating little gender difference among metro youth in these patterns. The data on our Metro sample appears to be more like Venegas' findings from El Paso - little in the way of strong, consistent gender patterning to be observed - than like those from our nonmetro studies.

At any rate, it is clear that our youth studied in Cameron Co. and Brooks Co. in 1978-1979 demonstrate clear and strong Metro-Nonmetro variability. In fact, in this case, type of place seems to produce a lot more patterned variability than does gender, Table 18. That is with one exception, which is due to the surprisingly low proportion of nonmetro girls indicating that they were not going to encourage their children to learn Spanish well. When it is considered that almost all the nonmetro boys have a polar opposite position on this, one can predict some potential for intrafamily conflict evolving when these youth begin to rear children.

Table 17. Use of Spanish By Mexican American Boys and Girls: South Texas, 1978-1979.

Language Patterh Used	Family Members		Close Friends In Neighborhood		Others Outside Neighborhood	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------	----------
	%		%		%	
A. Nonmetro						
English	17	26	43	63	57	63
Both (Same Amount)	37	11	29	16	20	11
Spanish	46	58	26	16	23	21
B. Metro						
English	0	11	7	22	30	24
Both (Same Amount)	57	60	50	36	25	18
Spanish	34	26	39	40	39	56

Table 18. Mexican American Youths' Self-Defined Abilities To Use Spanish by Gender and Type of Residence and Patterns of Use of the Language: South Texas, 1978-1979.

	Metro		Nonmetro	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
	% having Good Ability			
A. Good Use of Spanish				
Speaking	91	82	80	63
Reading	71	53	48	42
Writing	65	46	29	21
B. Mass Media Use of Spanish	% Using To Some Extent			
Radio	49	46	58	53
TV	50	67	23	32
Printed Materials	50	38	14	16
C. % Will Teach Children Spanish Well	89	89	97	58

Religious Behavior and Orientations

We had some items dispersed through the instrument used in our 1973 South Texas youth survey that can serve as a source of data to explore gender variability on several aspects of religious behavior and religious orientations. This data has previously been reported as part of a tri-ethnic comparison (Kuvlesky, 1978).

Religious Participation

The Mexican American boys and girls did not differ at all in their religious indentification: 84% of them indicated they were Roman Catholic and most of the rest indicated they were Protestant. But, a marked gender difference existed in reference to frequency of church attendance, Table 19. Over half the boys never went to church or were present there only once or twice a year; whereas, almost two-thirds of the girls attended church once a week or more. Interestingly, data obtained about the youths' perceptions of their parents' church attendance demonstrates a similar but less marked gender difference, Table 20.

Religiosity

Seven out of every ten girls think their peers view them as religious as compared with five out of every ten boys: this gender difference reflects the subjects church participation patterns very well (Table 21). A good way to evaluate the personal significance of religious indentification for youth - how important it is to them - is to ask how important the religious affiliation of a prospective marital partner is. These teenagers were split on this issue - a bit more than half of both the boys and girls

Table 19. Mexican American Youths' Frequency of Church Attendance, By Gender (ST-73).

Frequency of Church Attendance	Males %	Females %
1. Never/Practically Never	25	5
2. A Few Times a Year	26 (51)	12 (17)
3. One to Two Times a Month	12	21
4. Once a Week	31	52
5. More Than Once a Week	5 (36)	9 (61)
6. No Information*	1	1
TOTAL	100	100
N	178	201

*No Information was not included in Chi Square evaluations.

d.f. = 4, $x^2 = 53.65$, $P = < .001$

Table 20. Mexican American Youths' Perceptions of Father's and Mother's Attendance at Religious Services (ST-73).

Frequency of Church Attendance	Father* %	Mother* %
1. Never/Practically Never	29	13
2. A Few Times a Year	29 (58)	24 (37)
3. One to Two Times a Month	13	17
4. Once a Week	19	33
5. More Than Once a Week	4 (23)	11 (44)
6. No Information	6	2
TOTAL	100	100
N	379	379

*Results of Chi Square tests on gender differences among the youth for both Fathers and Mothers attendance indicated a lack of statistically significant differences.

Table 21. Mexican American Youths' Perceptions of Being Viewed as a Religious Person by Peers, by Gender (ST-73).

Considered Religious	Males %	Females %	Total %
Yes	51	71	62
No	49	29	38
No Information*	0	0	0
TOTAL	100	100	100
N	147	186	333

*No Information was not included in Chi Square evaluations.

d.f. = 1, x^2 = 13.93, P = $<$.001

Table 22. Importance of Future Spouse Having Same Religion as the Respondent, Among Mexican American Youth, by Gender (ST-73).

Importance of Same Religion	Males %	Females %	Total %
1. Not Important	14	16	15
2. Not Very Important	21 (35)	28 (44)	25 (40)
3. Important	31	32	31
4. Very Important	27 (58)	22 (54)	24 (55)
5. No Information	7	2	5
TOTAL	100	100	100
N	178	201	379

d.f. = 4, x^2 = 9.347, P = .10 $>$ P $>$ .05

viewed this as important or very important, Table 22. Gender differences were not substantial or statistically significant in this regard.

Social Significance of Religion

When we asked the subjects how much they thought religion would hinder their chances for achieving their job and educational aspirations, three out of four boys and girls thought it would to some degree: again no gender differences existed, Table 23.

Summary on Religion

The results of the gender comparisons on religious variables are summarized as follows:

Substantial Gender Differences	No Gender Difference
1.Church Attendance	1.Religious Identification (Denomination)
2.Viewed As Religious	2.Importance of Religion in Spouse Selection
	3.Religion As an Impediment to Social Mobility

Clearly Mexican American girls saw themselves more often as religious and they more often practiced their religion through frequent church attendance than did their male counterparts. Perceived gender differences in parents' church attendance paralleled the youths' patterns, providing a cue that these gender variations cut across age statuses as well.

Furthermore, I observed the same patterns of gender variability in a study of rural youth and their families in Taos County, New Mexico in 1976, indicating these patterns persist across different regions as well.

Prior analysis of this data in conjunction with equivalent

Table 23. Mexican American Youths' Perceptions of Their Religion as an Impediment to Opportunity for Social Attainment, by Gender (ST-73).

Degree of Impediment to Opportunity	Males %	Females %	Total %
None	23	23	23
Some	60	63	61
Much/Very Much	15	12	14
No Information*	2	2	2
TOTAL	100	100	100
N	178	201	379

*No Information is excluded from Chi Square evaluations.

d.f. = 2, x^2 = .656, P = $>$.70

data for nonmetropolitan Black and Anglo age peers from East Texas in 1972, indicated that very similar patterns of gender variability existed for all three ethnic grouping on these variables. Consequently, it seems safe to conclude that the tendency for girls to believe they are more often defined as religious - probably because they are much more active church goers - is part of broad societal sex-role configuration and is not specific to Mexican Americans as an ethnic unit. American girls are socialized to be more religiously active than are their brothers: Mexican American youth simply reflect this specific sex-role socialization experience. There is some evidence to indicate that Mexican American boys are more influenced by this male-specific socialization to be "not too religious" than are Anglo or Black boys (Kuvlesky, 1978).

Ethnic Labeling: Nonmetro Youth

A colleague Mike Miller, has analyzed our 1973 data on ethnic label preferences: I will rely heavily on his findings here (Miller, 1976 and 1978).*

Miller, (1976:240) found three broad patterns of label preferences among the rural Mexican American youth we studied: "Mexican Americans" (50%) "Chicano" (25%) and "Denial of Ethnicity" (15%). By looking at responses to negative preferences as well, Miller concluded that the distinction between a preference for labels "Mexican American" and "Chicano" indicated a meaningful difference in self-defined ethnicity--70% of those preferring Mexican American reacted negatively to Chicano. His analysis also indicated that the range of ethnic labels selected was more limited than what past literature would lead one to believe: "Less than 2% chose "Mexican" or "Mexicana" and only two respondants preferred such labels as "Latin American" and "Spanish American"."

Obviously ethnic label preferences are dynamic phenomena. A number of observers, including Mike Miller and myself, speculate that preferences for the label Chicano have probably decreased in recent years (Melville, 1980:5). However, no firm data exists to support this proposition. In New Mexico in 1976 and in South Texas more recently I met many youth who were ambivalent about the labels "Chicano" and "Mexican American", giving me the impression that often they viewed them as equivalents, (Kuvlesky, 1979:29). This may indicate that among rural Mexican American young people the negative evaluation of Chicano as a label may be in fact decreasing.

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*My friend, Esteban Salinas of Westaco, Texas developed the instruments for these indicators of ethnic label preferences.

Miller observed dramatic gender differences in label preferences among these youth and, also, marked variability in patterning of preferences across local communities (Miller, 1976:243-245). I have abstracted out of Miller's reported data a gender comparison on ethnic labeling preferences for "Chicano" and "Ethnic Denial" by the local communities involved in our 1973 survey, Table 24. The residual proportions, not shown in this partial display, preferred "Mexican American".

Miller's data clearly demonstrate two very strong general patterns:

1. Mexican American boys from every place much more frequently prefer Chicano as an ethnic label.
2. Mexican American girls, conversely, are somewhat more likely to deny their ethnic origin with a selection of a label and, also, are more likely to select the label "Mexican American".

In another analysis from the same data set Miller (1978) focused on the youths' positive or negative evaluations of the label, "Chicano", by combining the youths' responses to a question asking for the most liked ethnic label and another asking for the most disliked one, Table 25. The gender differences are striking: males were about equally divided on the label, but the vast majority of girls disliked the label, "Chicano". What is more, Miller's findings clearly show that SES is linked to the magnitude of gender variability in this regard: differences by gender among "high SES" youth are small, while among "low SES" youth they are enormous. This is largely due to the fact that the lower class Mexican American boys were more heavily "pro-Chicano" than girls generally and their middle class male counterparts.

Table 24. Gender Differences Among Mexican American Youth In Selection of Preferred Ethnic Label (ST-73)*.

Study Area	Chicano		Ethnic Denial	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
	----------%----------			
TOTAL	41	17	8	21
Asherton	50	25	0	0
Rio Grande C.	30	19	13	29
Roma	63	15	5	34
San Isidro	40	0	20	0
Zapata	35	19	0	3

*Abstracted from Miller (1976:243).

Table 25. Mexican American Youths Orientations Toward The Label, "Chicano" by Gender and Social Class (ST-73).*

	High SES		Low SES		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
	----------%----------					
Pro-Chicano	33	25	68	18	54	20
Anti-Chicano	67	75	32	82	46	80

*Abstracted from Miller (1978:Table 3).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Status Projections

A summary of the patterns of gender variability in refrence to educational and occupational status projections for the nonmetropolitan, high school sophomores from South Texas studied in 1967 and 1973 is presented in Table 26. Little in the way of substantial gender differences existed in 1967. The only marked variability in this regard reflected a general sex-specific pattern observed often among all kinds of youth: girls aspirations and expectations for particular jobs were not as diverse as the males and tended to concentrate on low prestige white collar selections. While the historical patterns of change observed between 1967 and 1973 were usually slight, there was gender patterning in these. First, when changes did occur, the boys demonstrated more change than the girls. The one exception to this was in refrence to inconsistency between aspiration and expectation where girls experienced more anticipatory goal deflection in 1973 for both status attainment areas.

These patterned changes led to many more specific gender differences existing in 1973 than had existed earlier: boys and girls are tending to become more different with time in their status projection elements. In this respect, occupational status projections demonstrate the most gender differences: in fact in 1973, males and females differed on all elements except intensity of aspiration. Of major importance in this regard is the fact that girls were judged to have higher level aspirations and expectations - this gender difference wasn't observed in 1967. In refrence to educational projections in 1973, the major gender differences were that males had a higher intensity of desire for their aspirations and a greater

Table 26. Summary of Synthesis of Observed Gender Patterns Among Mexican American Youth For Status Projections Elements in 1967, 1973, and Change from 67-73.

Status Projection Elements	ST-1967 Gender Differences	ST-1967 Nature of Differences	ST-1973 Gender Differences	ST-1973 Nature of Differences	Historical Change (67-73) Gender Differences	Historical Change (67-73) Nature of Differences
Education-Aspiration						
Level	YES	F>M (Slight)	NO		NO	
Specific Statuses	NO		NO		NO	
Intensity	NO		YES	M>F	YES	M>F, Down
Education-Expectations						
Level	NO		NO		NO	
Specific Statuses	NO		NO		NO	
Certainty	NO		YES	M>F	YES	M>F, More Cer.
AGD	NO		YES	F>M	YES	F, More (Up)
Occupational-Aspiration						
Level	NO		YES	F>M	YES	M>F, Down
Specific Statuses	YES	F>L.P., Wh. Col.	YES	Same as '67	NO	
Intensity	NO		NO		NO	
Occupational-Expectations						
Level	NO		YES*	F>M (Slight)	YES*	M>F, Sl.Down
Specific Statuses	YES	F>L.P., Wh. Col.	YES	Same as '67	NO	
Certainty	NO		YES	M>F	YES	M>F, More Cer.
AGD	NO		YES*	F>M	YES*	F, More (Up)

*The most dramatic change from 67 to 73 was the large proportionate increase of "no responses" by boys to expectation question: from 15% to 27%. This makes these judgements risky.

50.

certainty about achieving their expectations.

General Conclusions from the above findings are:

(1) In 1967 boys and girls differed little in refrence to their occupational and educational status projections.

(2) Historical change in patterns of gender variability favored boys changing more than girls.

(3) In 1973 many more specific gender differences existed in status projection elements than in 1967.

(a) Boys had greater desire for attaining their aspirations, a higher degree of certainty about expectations, and less AGD.

(b) Girls had higher level occupational and educational status projections.

Findings from a study of high school drop-out age-peers of our ST-1967 subjects support the following conclusions:

(1) In general, girls and boys do not differ greatly in their motivations for leaving school. However; girls are much more likely to leave because of poor grades.

(2) Once out of school, girls are more likely to want to somehow complete their high school education.

(3) Few of the drop-outs received any technical training after leaving high school; but, those that did were boys.

From analysis of information obtained in 1973 on family development aspirations the following conclusions can be reached:

(1) Boys want to marry later.

(2) Boys want to have more children.

(3) Boys generally do not want their wives working after marriage, while girls generally do want to work after marriage.

Values

Gender differences were observed to exist generally in the data from our 1978-79 nonmetro survey, Table 27. And these were strongly patterned in direction of valuation: males being more strongly conservative than girls in eight out of ten cases.

Table 27. Summary of Gender Differences Among Nonmetro, South Texas Mexican American Youth In Strength of Conservative General Value Orientations, 1978-79.

Gender Differences	
Males More Strongly Conservative	Females More Strongly Conservative
(On Frequency of Strong Valuation*)	
1. Women's Rights	1. Private Property
2. Private Property	1. Minority Needs
2. Use of Force By Police	
3. Sex Education - School	
4. Work Ethic	
5. Competitive Ethic	
6. Local Autonomy	
7. Patriotism	

*Taken from Table 11. Presented in rank order of magnitude of gender differences on "strong" valuation percentages.

From our 1973 study evidence exists to support the conclusion that there are patterned gender differences in the relative valuation of life goals of the youth studied. Girls valued attainment of their educational and occupational goals more highly than boys did; whereas boys placed more direct values on attainment of free time and income.

From our study of religious behavior and orientations in 1973, evidence on how the youth viewed religion relative to an important attribute in mate selection suggests a lack of gender variability in the valuation of religion.

Language Use Patterns

Over 90% of the youth in all of our studies have indicated they were bilingual relative to use of English and Spanish in speaking. But, in all studies we have done on nonmetropolitan youth in Texas since 1967 the same strongly patterned gender differences emerge leading to this firm conclusion: boys use Spanish more frequently in speaking in all social contexts (Table 28). Relative to use of Spanish language mass media there are no consistently patterned gender differences, Table 28. In general, patterns of language use did not change much from 1967 to 1973.

In our most recent 78-79 study in Brooks County, Texas we uncovered a very startling gender difference: girls were much less likely to be oriented toward teaching Spanish to their children well than were boys.

Analysis of data from our ST-73 study on use of Spanish in reading and writing in a variety of all social contexts indicates few statistically significant gender differences and none that were substantial (see Tables 16 and 17). It can be concluded that patterned, substantial gender difference in reading and writing Spanish do not exist.

Our data from the 78-79 Brooks Co. study also indicate little difference among boys and girls in their perceptions of their abilities to use Spanish well (see Table 18).

Table 28. Summary Table of Gender Differences In use of Spanish Among Nonmetro Mexican American Youth In 1967, 1973, 1978-1979 and Historical Change Between 1967-1973: Spoken Language and Use of Media.

Patterns	1967 (Use of Spanish)	1973 (Use of Spanish)	Change 1967-1973	Brooks Co. 78-79
Speaking With				
Parents	M>F	M>F	None	M>F
Close Friends (Neighbors)	M>F	M>F	None	M>F
School (Out of Class)	M>F	M>F	M>F, More Sp.	M>F
In Class	----	----	----	----
Mass Media				
TV	----	----	----	----
Radio	None	None	None	None
Reading	F>M (-)	F>M (+)	None	None
Teach Children Spanish	----	----	----	M>F (+)

Religion

Our findings as summarized in Table 29 on gender patterning on religious behavior clearly demonstrate the following:

(1) That Mexican American girls are more "religious" than boys in frequency of participation in church and in their religious self-image.

(2) That there is no gender difference in how important religion is viewed as an attribute of a prospective mate or in the extent to which religion is seen as an impediment to social mobility.

Ethnic Labeling

In my field experience in associating with Mexican Americans in South Texas I have found that nothing stimulates a heated discussion more than the subject of "correct" ethnic labeling. It is perceived as an issue, and, an important one. Mike Miller's analyses of 1973 data on ethnic labeling preferences among nonmetropolitan youth leads clearly to these conclusions:

(1) Boys are more likely to prefer Chicano as a label and, conversely, girls are more likely to dislike Chicano as a label.

(2) Girls are more likely to select ethnic labels indicating a rejection of their ethnicity or very weak association with it (i.e., "American like anyone else" or "American of Mexican descent").

Table 29. Summary on Gender Differences In Religious Variables For Nonmetro Youth In South Texas (1973) and Taos County, New Mexico (1976).

Religious Variable	ST-73	Taos Co. - 76*
Church Attendance	F>M (+)	F>M (+)
Religious Self-Image	F>M	F>M
Rel. - Mate Selection	None	None
Imped. - Social Mobility	None	----

* Kuvlesky (1978b)

INTERPRETIVE DISCUSSION

Why is social reality so complex? To justify the work of sociologists is one possible answer. The attempt to make theoretical sense out of the variety of results from our empirical synthesis overviewed above certainly is not an easy task. I will attempt to do this by first of all differentiating gender patterns that are not likely to be ethnic - specific or do not reflect gender variability. Then, I will take the residual patterns - those that demonstrate gender variability that are judged to be ethnic - specific - and analyze them in an ex post facto manner within the multilevel frame for intergroup fusion described earlier in this paper. In these respects I will limit my discussion to a consideration of nonmetro Mexican American youth.

Clearly Mexican American boys and girls demonstrate substantial intragender variability. Consequently, when we are focusing on similarities or differences across gender we are describing general patterns pertaining to distributions of attributes of the two status groupings - gender patterns. The syntheses of findings presented here demonstrate considerable variability in these general patterns: the boys and girls are very similar in some respects and different in varying degrees in other respects. There is no monolithic, consistent pattern of inclusive gender - differentiation observable in the wide array of social behavior and orientations examined here.

Gender Similarities

Let us consider patterns of gender similarity first. In refrence to status projection levels, particularly the educational levels, the boys and girls are more similar than different. In refrence to occupational projections, gender did not produce differences in intensity of desire

associated with attainment of occupational goals. And, High school drop-outs of both genders for the most part, gave most of the same array of motivations for leaving school and similarly experienced little or no training after leaving. For the most part, both the boys and girls seek and expect upward mobility and they desire this strongly: they have bought the "American Dream". In refrence to language patterns a lack of consistent, marked gender differences were observed in refrence to use of Spanish mass media of different kinds and reading and writing of Spanish in various social settings. This probably was at least partly due to the fact that in all these respects predominant use of Spanish is impeded by lack of formal training in the language. So, in these respects it can be concluded that the girls and boys have experienced equal rates of cultural assimilation.

In refrence to religion boys and girls were similar in being polarized on the question of whether religion of a prospective mate is an important consideration and in refrence to their perception of whether or not their religion is an impediment to social mobility. So, again, as status categories they are similar to what ever extent these two variables indicate cultural assimilation.

Gender Differences - Reflections of Broad Societal Patterns

Some of the patterned gender differneces observed reflect closely those that have been observed among other ethnic types of youth in the United States, including Anglo youth. These are deemed to reflect the results of sex-specific socialization and role differentiation characteristic of prevailing elements of the broader core culture of our society; therefore they

can not be used to evaluate differential rates of assimilation between boys and girls. Those reflected in the results here in this regard are as follows:

(1) Differences in selection of specific occupational aspirations and expectations.

(2) Increased certainty of males about achieving their status expectations.

(3) Increasing frequency of anticipatory goal deflection among girls.

(4) The general patterns of change in status projections.

(5) Gender differences in religious behavior and self-image.

(6) Differences among drop-outs in post-school training experiences.

(7) Differences among boys and girls in desired age of marriage and size of family.

(8) Several of the differences in broad value orientations indicators: "women's rights" and "sex education in school."

In all these cases Mexican American boys and girls differ in general; but, so do the youth in the dominant group.

Ethnic-Specific Gender Differences

Cases we have judged gender differences to be ethnic-specific are as follows:

(1) Tendency for males to more frequently use Spanish than females in all kinds of social settings.

(2) The tendency for girls to dislike the ethnic label Chicano and to choose labels indicating ethnic rejection more than boys.

(3) The general tendency for males to be more strongly conservative in general value orientations.

(4) And, the surprisingly strong difference by gender in desires to teach their children Spanish well.

(5) The specific case of value orientations where females demonstrated more conservative orientations toward minority rights.

In every one of these cases, the Chicanas differ in the direction judged to favor an interpretation of their being more assimilated or assimilation-prone. So, when gender differences occur that are ethnic-specific it can be concluded that Mexican American girls tend to be more assimilation-prone than their male counterparts. And, this occurs at every level of intergroup interpenetration we can examine as demonstrated in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2. Summary of Evidence That NM Mexican American Girls are More Assimilation Prone than Boys.

Level		Assimilation Rate
A.	Culture	
(1)	Spoken Spanish	G>M
(2)	Socialization of Children	G>M
(3)	Values	G>M
B.	Social Structural	
	Language in School, with friends	G>M
C.	Psychological	
	Ethnic Label	G>M
D.	Biological	
	(No Indicator)	----

In summary, in many respects Mexican American youth from nonmetropolitan areas - boys and girls - are very assimilated culturally in the core culture. But, within the limitations of our data synthesis, when ethnic-specific differences between boys and girls did exist at the cultural, social structural, and psychological levels of intergroup fusion, the girls consistently tended to be more assimilation-prone than the boys. Obviously

many other dimensions remain to be explored at all four of the levels of intergroup interpenetration depicted in Figure 2 before we can evaluate the general validity of this conclusion even relative to the limited universe of subjects we studied.

Gender Differences In Nonmetro vrs. Metro Settings

Although it was not my purpose here to attempt to systematically synthesize findings in terms of a metro - nonmetro comparison, this task obviously needs to be done.

Evidence exists to indicate that the patterns of gender variability observed among nonmetropolitan youth as discussed previously do not necessarily maintain among metropolitan Mexican American youth. In refrence to language patterns both our 1978-79 data and Venegas' 1973 (Venegas and Kuvlesky, 1975) El Paso data indicated that marked place of residence differences exist. Also, our 1978-79 data - presented earlier - indicates similar findings in refrence to broad value orientations. In both cases, boys and girls in the metro setting were much less different than those in the nonmetro location.

It appears that this substantial type of place of residence variation in gender differences is due to the fact that nonmetropolitan Mexican American girls are less "traditional" in use of Spanish and in broad values than metro girls, as well as metro and nonmetro boys. This is truely a surprising observation: it leads to the inference that nonmetro Mexican American girls are experiencing assimilation more rapidly than others. Certainly this is an intriguing hypothesis to be tested in future research; and, if it is found to be generally valid it could be a theoretically stimulating task to explain it. In a more practical sense it would also help explain an apparent growing tendency for female-headed households among younger Mexican American women residing in nonmetropolitan areas. The more traditionally oriented male, paired with a more progressively oriented female out of romantic love at an early age, would find it relatively easy to locate a more compatible spouse in a large metro center.

Ethclass and Gender

Again, it was not my purpose in this paper to attempt to explore how SES might influence gender differences among Mexican American Youth - this remains another task for the future. However, the findings of Miller on gender variation in ethnic labeling by SES reviewed earlier clearly lead to a hypothesis worth investigating in future attempts at synthesis of accumulated research findings or new field research efforts. A reasonable statement of this hypothesis is as follows:

> Ethclass differentiation influences the nature and degree of gender variability among Mexican American youth: middle class boys and girls will be less different in their social behavior and orientations than will be their lower class counterparts.

Of course, it is possible that social class influences only some gender patterns and not others. Only future research can tell us whether or not this is so.

Other Needs For Future Research

Quite obviously the research synthesized here is limited in a number of ways: period of historical time, geographical location and place of residence type of community, social class of the subjects (predominantly lower class), age of respondents, and the methodology used in observation. The conclusions we have reached here are limited by these restrictions. Quite obviously we need much more research before we can feel secure in generalizing broadly about gender variability among Mexican American Youth. And, it seems quite clear to me that substantial theoretical development on sex-specific socialization of Mexican American youth and the possible consequences of this will not take place till we get more and broader research accomplished.

Our limitations in this regard not only inhibits theoretical development, it also impedes the development of the understandings necessary to meliorate the negative consequences of the compounded negative minority status carried by Chicanas; and, thereby, it also impedes our ability to provide assistance in marital and family guidance to meliorate evolving problems of stress and conflict within Mexican American families.

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